

Applying What We Know

Helping Toddlers Develop Compliance and Self-Control

SUGGESTION	RATIONALE
Respond to the toddler with sensitivity and encouragement.	Toddlers whose parents are sensitive and supportive are more compliant and self-controlled.
Provide advance notice when the toddler must stop an enjoyable activity.	Toddlers find it more difficult to stop a pleasant activity that is already under way to wait before engaging in a desired action.
Offer many prompts and reminders.	Toddlers' ability to remember and comply with rules is limited; they need continuous adult oversight.
Respond to self-controlled behavior with verbal and physical approval.	Praise and hugs reinforce appropriate behavior, increasing the likelihood that it will occur again.
Encourage selective and sustained attention (see Chapter 6, pages 221–222).	Development of attention is related to self-control. Children who can shift attention, selectively focusing on one stimulus while ignoring competing stimuli, are better at controlling their emotions and impulses.
Support language development (see Chapter 6, pages 244–246).	Early language development is related to self-control. In the second year, children begin to use language to remind themselves of adult expectations and to delay gratification.
Gradually increase rules in a manner consistent with the toddler's developing capacities.	As cognition and language improve, toddlers can follow more rules related to safety, respect for people and property, family routines, manners, and simple chores.

Toddlers who experience parental warmth and gentle encouragement are more likely to be cooperative and advanced in self-control (Kochanska, Murray, & Harlan, 2000; Lehman et al., 2002). Such parenting—which encourages and models patient, nonimpulsive behavior—is particularly important for temperamentally difficult babies. In one study, anger-prone 7-month-olds with gentle, responsive mothers became eagerly compliant 15-month-olds. Angry infants with insensitive mothers, by contrast, developed into strikingly uncooperative toddlers (Kochanska, Aksan, & Carlson, 2005). **TAKE A MOMENT...** Turn back to page 266, and note how these findings provide yet another example of the importance of goodness-of-fit between temperament and child rearing.

As self-control improves, parents gradually expand the rules they expect toddlers to follow, from safety and respect for property and people to family routines, manners, and simple chores (Gralinski & Kopp, 1993). Still, toddlers' control over their own actions depends on constant parental oversight and reminders. Several prompts ("Remember, we're going to go in just a minute") and gentle insistence were usually necessary to get Caitlin to stop playing so that she and her parents could go on an errand. Applying What We Know above summarizes ways to help toddlers develop compliance and self-control.

As the second year of life drew to a close, Carolyn, Monica, and Vanessa were delighted at their children's readiness to learn the rules of social life. As we will see in Chapter 10, advances in cognition and language, along with parental warmth and reasonable demands for maturity, lead preschoolers to make tremendous strides in this area.

Ask Yourself

Review Why is insisting that infants comply with parental directives inappropriate? What competencies are necessary for the emergence of compliance and self-control?

Apply Len, a caregiver of 1- and 2-year-olds, wonders whether toddlers recognize themselves. List signs of self-recognition in the second year that Len can observe.

Connect What type of early parenting fosters the development of emotional self-regulation, secure attachment, and self-control? Why, in each instance, is it effective?

Summary

Erikson's Theory of Infant and Toddler Personality

What personality changes take place during Erikson's stages of basic trust versus mistrust and autonomy versus shame and doubt?

- According to Erikson, warm, responsive caregiving leads infants to resolve the psychological conflict of **basic trust versus mistrust** on the positive side. The trusting infant expects the world to be good and gratifying, so he feels confident about exploring it.
- The conflict of **autonomy versus shame and doubt** is resolved favorably when parents provide appropriate guidance and reasonable choices. The outcome is a self-confident, secure child who can control her impulses and act competently on her own.
- If children emerge from the first few years without sufficient trust and autonomy, the seeds are sown for adjustment problems.

Emotional Development

Describe the development of basic emotions over the first year, noting the adaptive function of each.

- During the first half-year, **basic emotions**—happiness, interest, fear, anger, sadness, and disgust—become clear, well-organized signals. The **social smile** appears between 6 and 10 weeks, laughter around 3 to 4 months. Happiness strengthens the parent-child bond and reflects as well as supports physical and cognitive mastery.
- In the second half of the first year, as infants become capable of intentional behavior and better able to evaluate objects and events, anger increases. It motivates babies to defend themselves and overcome obstacles and prompts caregivers to relieve their distress. Sadness occurs when infants are deprived of the familiar, loving caregiver.
- Fear, most frequently expressed as **stranger anxiety**, also rises in the second half of the first year, keeping babies' enthusiasm for exploration in check. Once wariness develops, infants use the familiar caregiver as a **secure base** from which to explore.

Summarize changes that occur during the first two years in understanding others' emotions, expression of self-conscious emotions, and emotional self-regulation.

- The ability to understand others' feelings expands over the first year. From 5 months on, babies perceive facial expressions as organized patterns. Between 8 and 10 months, infants engage in **social referencing**, actively seeking emotional information from caregivers in uncertain situations. By the middle of the second year, infants become aware that others' emotional reactions may differ from their own.
- During toddlerhood, self-awareness and adult instruction provide the foundation for **self-conscious emotions**: shame, embarrassment, guilt, envy, and pride.
- Caregivers help infants with **emotional self-regulation** by relieving distress, engaging in stimulating play, and discouraging negative emotion. During the second year, growth in representation and language leads to more effective ways of regulating emotion.



Development of Temperament

What is temperament, and how is it measured?

- Children differ greatly in **temperament**—early appearing, stable individual differences in reactivity and self-regulation. The New York Longitudinal Study identified three patterns: the **easy child**, the **difficult child**, and the **slow-to-warm-up child**. Difficult children are at high risk for adjustment problems.

■ Rothbart's model of temperament combines characteristics into three underlying components—emotion, attention, and action—that form an integrated system of capacities and limitations. Rothbart's model includes **effortful control**, the ability to regulate one's reactivity.

■ Temperament is assessed through parental reports, behavior ratings by others familiar with the child, and direct observations. A combination of laboratory and physiological measures has been used to identify **inhibited**, or **shy**, children, and, at the other extreme, **uninhibited**, or **sociable**, children.

Discuss the roles of heredity and environment in the stability of temperament, including the goodness-of-fit model.

■ Temperament has low to moderate stability: It develops with age and can be modified by experience. Long-term prediction from early temperament is best achieved after age 3.

■ Twin studies suggest a moderate role of heredity in temperament. Consistent ethnic and sex differences also imply a genetic foundation, but also reflect cultural beliefs and practices as well as parents' perceptions.

■ The **goodness-of-fit model** describes how temperament and environment work together to affect later development. Parenting practices that fit well with the child's temperament help children achieve more adaptive functioning. Cultural values affect goodness of fit, as seen in the recent change in attitudes toward childhood shyness in China.



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Development of Attachment

What are the unique features of ethological theory of attachment?

■ The most widely accepted perspective on development of **attachment**—our strong, affectionate tie with special people in our lives—is **ethological theory**, which views babies as biologically prepared to establish emotional bonds with familiar caregivers, who promote survival by ensuring both safety and competence.

■ In early infancy, a set of built-in behaviors encourages the parent to remain close to the baby. Around 6 to 8 months, **separation anxiety** and use of the parent as a secure base indicate the existence of a true attachment bond. Separation anxiety declines as representation and language develop, letting toddlers understand the parent's coming and going. From early caregiving experiences, children construct an **internal working model** that guides all future close relationships.

Cite the four attachment patterns assessed by the Strange Situation and the Attachment Q-Sort, and discuss factors that affect attachment security.

■ Using the **Strange Situation**, a common technique for measuring the quality of attachment between 1 and 2 years of age, researchers have identified four attachment patterns: **secure**, **avoidant**,

resistant, and **disorganized/disoriented attachment**. The **Attachment Q-Sort**, based on home observations of children between ages 1 and 5, yields a score ranging from low to high security.

■ Securely attached babies in middle-SES families under favorable life conditions more often maintain their attachment pattern than insecure babies. However, the disorganized/disoriented pattern is highly stable. Cultural conditions may affect infants' reactions to the Strange Situation.

■ Attachment security is influenced by the opportunity to form a close relationship, the quality of caregiving, the baby's characteristics, and the family context. Infants who lack the opportunity to form a close bond with one or a few adults show lasting emotional and social problems.

■ **Sensitive caregiving** is moderately related to secure attachment. In some cultures, **interactional synchrony** also characterizes the experiences of securely attached babies. Overstimulating, intrusive care is linked to avoidant attachment, inconsistent care to resistant attachment. Many disorganized/disoriented babies experience extremely negative caregiving.

■ Even ill and temperamentally irritable infants usually become securely attached if parents adapt their caregiving to suit the baby's needs. Family conditions, stress and instability, influence caregiving behavior and attachment security. Parents' internal working models also predict the quality of infants' attachment bonds.

Discuss infants' formation of multiple attachments, and indicate how attachment paves the way for early peer sociability.

■ Infants develop strong affectionate ties to fathers, whose sensitive caregiving predicts attachment security. In families where fathers devote little time to infant care, stimulating, playful interaction is a vital context in which they build secure attachments with babies.

■ Grandparents who serve as primary caregivers for grandchildren, increasingly common, forge significant attachment ties that help protect children with troubled family lives from adjustment problems.

■ Early in the first year, infants start to form rich emotional relationships with siblings that combine rivalry and resentment with affection and sympathetic concern. Individual differences in these relationships are influenced by temperament, parenting practices, and marital quality.

■ Peer sociability begins in infancy with isolated social acts, followed by reciprocal exchanges (largely in the form of mutual imitation) in the second year of life. A warm caregiver-child bond promotes peer sociability.

Describe and interpret the relationship between secure attachment in infancy and cognitive, emotional, and social competence in childhood.

■ Continuity of caregiving is the crucial factor determining whether attachment security is linked to later development. A secure



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attachment in infancy launches the parent-child relationship on a positive path. But if caregiving improves, children can recover from an insecure attachment history.

Self-Understanding

Describe the development of self-awareness in infancy and toddlerhood, along with the emotional and social capacities it supports.

■ Self-awareness begins at birth, when infants sense that they are physically distinct from their surroundings, and expands over the early months. At first, self-awareness is expressed only in perception and action. Later, self-recognition—identification of the self as a physically unique being—emerges, as toddlers

become keenly aware of the self's physical features. By age 2, children point to themselves in photos and refer to themselves by name or a personal pronoun.

■ Self-awareness sets the stage for social referencing and, in the second year, the emergence of self-conscious emotions. It also leads to toddlers' first efforts to appreciate others' perspectives, including early signs of **empathy**. Between 18 and 30 months, as language develops, children develop a **categorical self** based on age, sex, physical characteristics, and competences.

■ Self-awareness also contributes to effortful control and, between 12 and 18 months, to the emergence of **compliance**. Between ages 1½ and 3, **delay of gratification** strengthens. Toddlers who experience parental warmth and gentle encouragement are likely to be advanced in self-control.

Important Terms and Concepts

attachment (p. 268)

Attachment Q-Sort (p. 271)

autonomy versus shame and doubt (p. 252)

avoidant attachment (p. 270)

basic emotions (p. 254)

basic trust versus mistrust (p. 252)

categorical self (p. 285)

compliance (p. 285)

delay of gratification (p. 285)

difficult child (p. 260)

disorganized/disoriented attachment (p. 271)

easy child (p. 260)

effortful control (p. 261)

emotional self-regulation (p. 258)

empathy (p. 284)

ethological theory of attachment (p. 269)

goodness-of-fit model (p. 266)

inhibited, or shy, child (p. 262)

interactional synchrony (p. 274)

internal working model (p. 270)

resistant attachment (p. 270)

secure attachment (p. 270)

secure base (p. 256)

self-conscious emotions (p. 257)

sensitive caregiving (p. 273)

separation anxiety (p. 269)

slow-to-warm-up child (p. 260)

social referencing (p. 257)

social smile (p. 255)

Strange Situation (p. 270)

stranger anxiety (p. 256)

temperament (p. 260)

uninhibited, or sociable, child (p. 262)

Summary

Erikson's Theory: Initiative versus Guilt

What personality changes take place during Erikson's stage of initiative versus guilt?

- Preschoolers develop a new sense of purposefulness as they grapple with Erikson's psychological conflict of **initiative versus guilt**. A healthy sense of initiative depends on exploring the social world through play and experiencing supportive child rearing that fosters a secure (but not overly strict) conscience.

Self-Understanding

Describe preschoolers' self-concepts and the development of autobiographical memory and self-esteem.

- As children gain self-awareness during the first two years, two aspects of the self develop: the **I-self**, or active observer, and the **me-self**, or self as object of knowledge and evaluation, from which children develop a **self-concept**. Preschoolers' self-concepts consist largely of observable characteristics and typical emotions and attitudes. Their increasing self-awareness underlies struggles with other children over objects as well as first efforts to cooperate.
- Adult-child conversations about the past contribute to the development of autobiographical memory, a coherent narrative about the past. Gradually, children develop a sense of the I-self as existing continuously in time.
- During early childhood, **self-esteem** differentiates into several self-judgments. Preschoolers' high self-esteem contributes to their mastery-oriented approach to the environment. Excessive adult criticism can undermine children's enthusiasm for learning and persistence at challenging tasks.



Emotional Development

Identify changes in understanding and expressing emotion during early childhood, citing factors that influence those changes.

- Preschoolers have an impressive understanding of the causes, consequences, and behavioral signs of basic emotions, which is supported by cognitive development, secure attachment, and conversations about feelings. By age 3 to 4, children are aware of various strategies for emotional self-regulation. Temperament, parental modeling, and parental communication about coping strategies influence preschoolers' capacity to handle negative emotion.
- As their self-concepts become better developed, preschoolers experience self-conscious emotions more often. However, they depend on parental feedback to know when to feel pride, shame, or guilt.
- Empathy also becomes more common in early childhood. The extent to which empathy leads to **sympathy** and results in **prosocial**, or **altruistic**, behavior depends on temperament and parenting.

Peer Relations

Describe peer sociability, friendship, and social problem solving in early childhood, along with cultural and parental influences on early peer relations.

- During early childhood, peer interaction increases as children move from **nonsocial activity** to **parallel play** and then to **associative** and **cooperative play**. But as associative and cooperative play increase, both solitary and parallel play remain common.
- Gains in sociodramatic play affect many aspects of emotional and social development and are especially important in societies where child and adult worlds are distinct. In collectivist societies, play generally occurs in large groups and is highly cooperative.
- Preschoolers view friendship in concrete, activity-based terms. Their interactions with friends are especially positive and cooperative and serve as effective sources of social support as they enter kindergarten.
- Conflicts with peers offer children occasions for **social problem solving**, which improves over the preschool and early school years. By kindergarten to second grade, each of its information-processing components is related to socially competent behavior. Training in social problem solving improves peer relations and psychological adjustment.
- Parents influence early peer relations both directly, through attempts to influence their child's peer relations, and indirectly, through their child-rearing practices. Secure attachment, emotionally positive parent-child conversations, and cooperative parent-child play are linked to favorable peer interaction.

Foundations of Morality

What are the central features of psychoanalytic, social learning, and cognitive-developmental approaches to moral development?

- The psychoanalytic perspective emphasizes the emotional side of moral development. Although Freud was correct that guilt is an important motivator of moral action, contrary to his theory, discipline that promotes fear of punishment and loss of parental love does not foster conscience development. **Induction** is far more effective in encouraging self-control and prosocial behavior.
- Social learning theory focuses on how moral behavior is learned through reinforcement and modeling. Effective adult models of morality are warm and powerful, and they practice what they preach.
- Frequent harsh punishment does not promote moral internalization and socially desirable behavior. Alternatives, such as **time out** and withdrawal of privileges, can help parents avoid the undesirable side effects of punishment. When parents do use punishment, they can increase its effectiveness by being consistent, maintaining a warm relationship with the child, and offering explanations. The most effective discipline encourages good conduct by building a mutually respectful bond with the child.
- The cognitive-developmental perspective views children as active thinkers about social rules. By age 4, children consider intentions in making moral judgments and distinguish truthfulness from lying. Preschoolers also distinguish **moral imperatives** from **social conventions** and **matters of personal choice**. But they tend to reason rigidly about morality, focusing on salient features and consequences and neglecting other important information.
- Through sibling and peer interaction, children work out their first ideas about justice and fairness. Parents who discuss moral issues with their children help them reason about morality.

Describe the development of aggression in early childhood, including family and media influences.

- During early childhood, instrumental aggression declines while hostile aggression increases. Hostile aggression includes **physical aggression** (more common in boys), **verbal aggression**, and **relational aggression**.
- Ineffective discipline and a conflict-ridden family atmosphere promote and sustain children's aggression. Media violence also triggers aggression. Young children's limited understanding of TV content increases their willingness to uncritically accept and imitate what they see.
- Teaching parents effective child-rearing practices, providing children with social problem-solving training, intervening in marital problems, and shielding children from violent media reduce aggressive behavior.



Gender Typing

Discuss genetic and environmental influences on preschoolers' gender-stereotyped beliefs and behavior.

- Gender typing** is well under way in early childhood. Preschoolers acquire a wide range of gender-stereotyped beliefs, which operate as blanket rules rather than flexible guidelines for behavior.
- Prenatal hormones contribute to boys' higher activity level and rowdier play, and to children's preference for same-sex playmates. At the same time, parents, same-sex older siblings, teachers, peers, and the broader social environment encourage many gender-typed responses. Parents apply more pressure for gender-role conformity to sons, and boys are more gender-typed than girls.

Describe and evaluate major theories that explain the emergence of gender identity.

- Although most people have a traditional **gender identity**, some are **androgynous**, combining both masculine and feminine characteristics. Compared to a feminine identity, masculine and androgynous identities are linked to better psychological adjustment.
- According to social learning theory, preschoolers first acquire gender-typed responses through modeling and reinforcement, then organize these into gender-linked ideas about themselves. Cognitive-developmental theory suggests that **gender constancy** must be mastered before children develop gender-typed behavior. However, gender-role behavior is acquired long before gender constancy.

- Gender schema theory** is an information-processing approach to gender typing that combines social learning and cognitive-developmental features to explain how gender role development occurs through the joint effects of environmental pressures and children's cognitions. As children acquire gender-stereotyped preferences and behaviors, they form masculine and feminine categories, or gender schemas, that they apply to themselves and their world.

Child Rearing and Emotional and Social Development

Describe the impact of child-rearing styles on children's development, and explain why authoritative parenting is effective.

- Three features distinguish the major **child-rearing styles**: (1) acceptance and involvement, (2) control, and (3) autonomy granting. Compared with the **authoritarian**, **permissive**, and **uninvolved styles**, the **authoritative style** promotes cognitive, emotional, and social competence. Warmth, explanations, and reasonable demands for mature behavior account for the effectiveness of the authoritative style. **Psychological control** is associated with authoritarian parenting and contributes to adjustment problems.
- Certain ethnic groups, including Chinese, Hispanic, Asian Pacific Island, and African-American, combine parental warmth with high levels of control. But when control becomes harsh and excessive, it impairs academic and social competence.



Discuss the multiple origins of child maltreatment, its consequences for development, and prevention strategies.

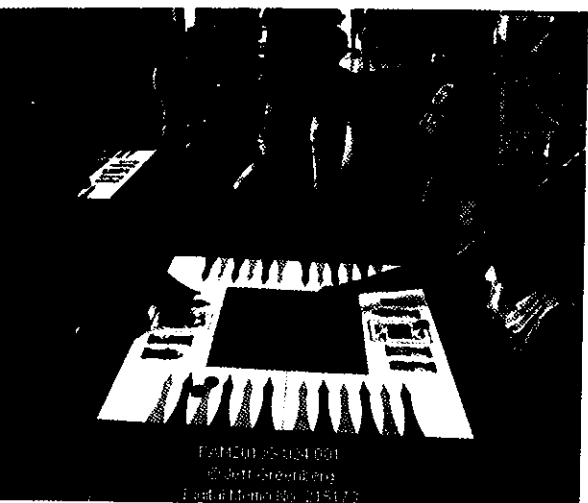
- Child maltreatment is related to factors within the family, community, and larger culture. Maltreating parents use ineffective discipline and hold a negatively biased view of their child. Unmanageable parental stress and social isolation greatly increase the chances that abuse and neglect will occur. When a society approves of force and violence as a means for solving problems, child abuse is promoted.
- Maltreated children are impaired in emotional self-regulation, empathy and sympathy, self-concept, social skills, and academic motivation. They are also likely to suffer central nervous system damage, which increases the chances that adjustment problems will endure. Successful prevention of child maltreatment requires efforts at the family, community, and societal levels.

Important Terms and Concepts

androgyny (p. 395)
 associative play (p. 374)
 authoritarian child-rearing style (p. 399)
 authoritative child-rearing style (p. 399)
 child-rearing styles (p. 398)
 cooperative play (p. 374)
 gender constancy (p. 396)
 gender identity (p. 395)
 gender schema theory (p. 396)
 gender typing (p. 391)
 hostile aggression (p. 387)

induction (p. 380)
 initiative versus guilt (p. 366)
 instrumental aggression (p. 387)
 I-self (p. 366)
 matters of personal choice (p. 386)
 me-self (p. 366)
 moral imperatives (p. 386)
 nonsocial activity (p. 374)
 parallel play (p. 374)
 permissive child-rearing style (p. 400)
 physical aggression (p. 387)

prosocial, or altruistic, behavior (p. 373)
 psychological control (p. 399)
 relational aggression (p. 387)
 self-concept (p. 366)
 self-esteem (p. 368)
 social conventions (p. 386)
 social problem solving (p. 377)
 sympathy (p. 373)
 time out (p. 384)
 uninvolved child-rearing style (p. 400)
 verbal aggression (p. 387)



Often one resource that fosters resilience strengthens others. This child, who is enjoying a game of checkers with her father at a recreation center, benefits from high-quality neighborhood services, which relieve parental stress and encourage parents and children to share leisure time.

RCCP and other similar programs recognize that resilience is not a preexisting attribute but rather a capacity that *develops*, enabling children to use internal and external resources to cope with adversity (Roberts & Masten, 2004; Yates, Egeland, & Sroufe, 2003). Throughout our discussion, we have seen how families, schools, communities, and society as a whole can enhance or undermine the school-age child's developing sense of competence. As the next three chapters reveal, young people whose childhood experiences helped them learn to control impulses, overcome obstacles, strive for self-direction, and respond considerately and sympathetically to others meet the challenges of the next period—adolescence—quite well.

Ask Yourself

Review

When children must testify in court cases, what factors increase the chances of accurate reporting?

Apply

Claire told her 6-year-old daughter to be very careful never to talk to or take candy from strangers. Why will Claire's warning not protect her daughter from sexual abuse?

Connect

Explain how factors that promote resilience, listed on page 521, contribute to favorable adjustment following divorce.

Reflect

Describe a challenging time during your childhood. What aspects of the experience increased stress? What resources helped you cope with adversity?

of time in school, the quality of their relationships with teachers and classmates strongly influences their development, academically and socially (Elias, Parker, & Rosenblatt, 2005).

Several highly effective school-based *social and emotional learning programs* reduce violence (including bullying and gang involvement) and other antisocial acts and increase academic motivation by fostering social competence and supportive relationships. Among these is the Resolving Conflict Creatively Program (RCCP), used in more than 400 schools throughout the United States, serving 175,000 students (Lantieri, 2003). RCCP provides children and adolescents with up to 51 hour-long lessons in emotional and social understanding and skills. Topics include expressing feelings, regulating anger, resolving social conflicts, cooperating, appreciating diversity, identifying and standing up against prejudice and bullying, and making decisions based on long-rather than short-term goals. Compared with students receiving few or no lessons, second to sixth graders receiving substantial RCCP instruction less often misinterpreted others' acts as hostile, less often behaved aggressively, more often engaged in prosocial behavior, and more often gained in academic achievement. Two years of intervention, as opposed to just one, strengthened these outcomes (Brown et al., 2004). In unsafe neighborhoods, the program transforms schools into places of safety and mutual respect, where learning can occur.

Summary

Erikson's Theory: Industry versus Inferiority

What personality changes take place during Erikson's stage of industry versus inferiority?

- According to Erikson, children who successfully resolve the psychological conflict of **industry versus inferiority** develop a sense of competence at useful skills and tasks, learn the value of division of labor, and develop a sense of moral commitment and responsibility.

Self-Understanding

Describe school-age children's self-concept and self-esteem, and discuss factors that affect their achievement-related attributions.

- During middle childhood, children's self-concepts include personality traits (both positive and negative), competencies, and **social comparisons**. Separate self-esteems become increasingly distinct and hierarchically organized. Over the early school years, self-esteem declines as children get more competence-related feedback and compare their performance to that of others.
- Cultural forces affect self-esteem. An especially strong emphasis on social comparison in school may underlie Asian children's lower self-esteem in comparison to that of North American children. Warm extended families and strong ethnic pride may contribute to the slight self-esteem advantage of Africa-American over Caucasian children.
- Parental support for self-development affects self-esteem. Parents' gender-stereotyped beliefs predict sex differences in children's self-evaluations of competence in various areas. The authoritative child-rearing style is linked to favorable self-esteem.
- Research on achievement-related **attributions** has identified adult messages that affect children's academic self-esteem. Children with **mastery-oriented attributions** hold an incremental view of ability, believing that it can be improved by trying hard, and attribute failure to insufficient effort. In contrast, children with **learned helplessness** attribute their successes to luck and hold a fixed view of ability, believing that it cannot be changed and that their failures are due to lack of ability.

- Parents' and teachers' feedback about ability plays a large role in whether children develop a mastery-oriented approach as opposed to learned helplessness. Supportive teachers and cultural valuing of effort increase the likelihood of a mastery-oriented approach.

- Attribution retraining** encourages learned-helpless children to believe they can overcome failure by exerting more effort. Teaching children to focus less on grades and more on mastery for its own sake also leads to gains in students' academic self-esteem and motivation.

Emotional Development

Cite changes in the expression and understanding of emotion in middle childhood.

- In middle childhood, self-conscious emotions of pride and guilt become clearly governed by personal responsibility. Experiencing intense shame can shatter children's overall sense of self-esteem.
- School-age children recognize that people can experience more than one emotion at a time and that emotional expressions may not reflect people's true feelings. They also attend to both facial and situational cues and to information about a person's past experiences in interpreting their feelings. Gains in perspective taking and emotional understanding lead empathy to increase in middle childhood.
- By the end of middle childhood, most children have an adaptive set of techniques for regulating emotion. They shift between **problem-centered coping** and **emotion-centered coping**, depending on the situation. Emotionally well-regulated children are optimistic, prosocial, and well-liked by peers.

Understanding Others: Perspective Taking

How does perspective taking change in middle childhood?

- Perspective taking** improves greatly over the school years, as described by Selman's five-stage sequence. Cognitive maturity and experiences in which adults and peers encourage children to take another's viewpoint support school-age children's perspective-taking skill. Good perspective takers show more empathy, sympathy, and positive social skills.

Moral Development

Describe changes in moral understanding during middle childhood, including children's understanding of diversity and inequality.

- By middle childhood, children follow internalized standards, so their need for adult oversight, modeling, and reinforcement declines. School-age children's concepts of **distributive justice** change, from equality to merit to equity and benevolence.
- As children develop more advanced ideas about justice, they clarify and link moral rules and social conventions. In judging the seriousness of transgressions, they take into account the purpose of the rule; people's intentions, knowledge, and beliefs; and the context of their actions.
- Stronger convictions about personal choice strengthen children's appreciation of individual rights, such as freedom of speech and religion. But when moral and personal concerns conflict, older school-age children typically emphasize fairness. Children in diverse cultures use similar criteria to reason about moral, social-conventional, and personal concerns.
- Children of all races pick up prevailing societal attitudes about race and ethnicity. With age, children pay more attention to inner traits and realize that people can be both "the same" and "different," and

children's prejudice declines. Still, among white children, prejudice continues to operate subtly and without awareness.

- Children most likely to hold racial and ethnic biases are those who believe that personality traits are fixed, who have inflated self-esteem, and who live among adults who highlight group differences. Promising approaches to reducing prejudice include inducing children to view others' traits as changeable and arranging intergroup contact in schools and communities.

Peer Relations

How do peer sociability and friendship change in middle childhood?

- In middle childhood, peer interaction becomes more prosocial, and physical aggression declines. By the end of the school years, children organize themselves into **peer groups**. Although most children regard exclusion as wrong, they often exclude children who deviate from group codes of dress and behavior and who are no longer "respected." Formal groups under adult guidance can hold these negative behaviors in check.
- Friendships develop into mutual relationships based on trust and become more selective. Children tend to select friends who resemble themselves in age, sex, race, ethnicity, SES, personality, popularity, academic achievement, and prosocial behavior. Girls form closer, more exclusive friendships than boys.

Describe major categories of peer acceptance and ways to help rejected children.

- Researchers use self-reports to distinguish four types of **peer acceptance**: (1) **popular children**, who are liked by many agemates; (2) **rejected children**, who are actively disliked; (3) **controversial children**, who are liked by some and disliked by others; and (4) **neglected children**, who arouse little reaction, positive or negative, but are usually well-adjusted.



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- Popular-prosocial children** are academically and socially competent, while **popular-antisocial children** include athletically skilled boys who are poor students and defiant of adult authority and relationally aggressive boys and girls, admired for their sophisticated but devious social skills. **Rejected-aggressive children** are especially high in conflict and hostility, while **rejected-withdrawn children** are passive, socially awkward, and frequent targets of **peer victimization**. Both types of rejected children often experience lasting adjustment difficulties.
- Coaching in social skills, academic tutoring, and training in perspective taking and social problem solving have been used

to help rejected youngsters. Teaching children to attribute peer difficulties to internal, changeable causes is also important. To produce lasting change, intervening in parent-child interaction is often necessary.

Gender Typing

What changes in gender-stereotyped beliefs and gender identity take place during middle childhood?

- School-age children extend their awareness of gender stereotypes to personality traits and academic subjects. As a result, girls often discount their academic ability. Children also develop a more flexible, open-minded view of what males and females can do. But they judge certain violations of appearance and behavior harshly and are especially intolerant when boys engage in these "cross-gender" acts.
- Boys strengthen their identification with the masculine role, whereas girls feel free to experiment with "cross-gender" activities. School-age children's gender identities also expand to include self-evaluations of gender typicality, gender contentedness, and felt pressure to conform to gender roles—each of which affects psychological well-being.

Family Influences

How do parent-child communication and sibling relationships change in middle childhood?

- Effective parents of school-age children engage in **coregulation**, exerting general oversight while letting children take charge of moment-by-moment decision making. Coregulation depends on a cooperative relationship between parent and child.
- Sibling rivalry tends to increase as children participate in a wider range of activities and as parents compare their traits and accomplishments. Siblings often try to reduce this rivalry by striving to be different from one another. When siblings maintain warm bonds, they resolve disagreements constructively and provide one another with emotional support.
- Compared to children with siblings, only children have higher self-esteem, do better in school, and attain higher levels of education. But although only children form close, high-quality friendships, they are less well accepted in the peer group, perhaps because they have had fewer opportunities to resolve conflicts through sibling interactions.

How do children fare in gay and lesbian families and in single-parent, never-married families?

- Gay and lesbian parents are as committed to and effective at child rearing as heterosexuals. Their children do not differ from the children of heterosexual parents in adjustment and gender-role preferences.
- The largest group of never-married parents is African-American young women, who postpone marriage more and childbirth less than all other American ethnic groups. Never-married parenthood generally increases economic hardship for low-SES mothers and their children. Children of never-married mothers who lack a father's warmth and involvement achieve less well in school and engage in more antisocial behavior than children in low-SES, first-marriage families.

What factors influence children's adjustment to divorce and blended family arrangements?

- Although all children experience painful emotional reactions during the period surrounding divorce, children with difficult temperaments and boys in mother-custody homes have more adjustment problems. Over time, children of divorce show improved functioning, but they continue to score slightly lower than children of continuously married parents on a variety of adjustment indicators. Problems with adolescent sexuality, early parenthood, and development of intimate ties surface at later ages.

- The overriding factor in positive adjustment following divorce is effective parenting. Contact with noncustodial fathers is important for children of both sexes, and father custody is associated with better outcomes for sons.



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- Divorce mediation** can promote children's adjustment by helping parents resolve disputes and cooperate in child rearing. The success of **joint custody** depends on parental cooperation. Children who experience it tend to fare better than those in sole maternal-custody homes.

- When divorced parents enter new relationships through cohabitation or remarriage, children must adapt to a **blended**, or **reconstituted**, family. How well they fare depends on which parent remarries and on the age and sex of the child. Girls, older school-age children and adolescents, and children in father-stepmother families have more adjustment problems. Stepparents who move into their roles gradually and couples who form a "parenting coalition" help children adjust.

How do maternal employment and life in dual-earner families affect children's development?

- When mothers enjoy their work and remain committed to parenting, maternal employment is associated with favorable consequences for children, including higher self-esteem, more positive family and peer relations, less gender-stereotyped beliefs, and better grades in school. But when employment is stressful because of time demands or other factors, children are at risk for ineffective parenting and adjustment difficulties.
- In dual-earner families, the father's willingness to share child rearing is crucial for mothers' and children's well-being. Workplace sup-

ports, such as part-time employment and flexible work schedules, help parents meet the demands of work and child rearing.

- Self-care children** who are old enough to look after themselves, are monitored from a distance, and have a history of authoritative parenting appear responsible and well adjusted. In contrast, children left to their own devices are at risk for antisocial behavior. Children in high-quality after-school programs reap academic and social benefits.

Some Common Problems of Development

Cite common fears and anxieties in middle childhood.

- School-age children's fears are directed toward new concerns, including physical harm, media events, academic failure, parents' health, the possibility of dying, and peer rejection. Children with inhibited temperaments are at high risk for developing **phobias**, or intense, unmanageable fears, including school phobia. Severe anxiety can also result from exposure to harsh living conditions, such as constant violence.

Discuss factors related to child sexual abuse, its consequences for children's development, and its prevention and treatment.

- Child sexual abuse is most commonly committed by male family members, more often against girls than against boys. Abusers have characteristics that predispose them toward sexual exploitation of children. Reported cases are linked to poverty and marital instability, but children in economically advantaged, stable homes are also victims. Adjustment problems of abused children often are severe and include depression, low self-esteem, mistrust of adults, anger and hostility, suicidal reactions, and inappropriate sexual behavior.
- Because sexual abuse is related to other serious family problems, long-term therapy with children and families is usually necessary. Today, courts are prosecuting abusers more vigorously and taking children's testimony more seriously. Educational programs that teach children to recognize inappropriate sexual advances and whom to turn to for help reduce the risk of sexual abuse.

Cite factors that foster resilience in middle childhood.

- Overall, a modest relationship exists between stressful life experiences and psychological disturbance in childhood. Children's personal characteristics, a warm family life that includes authoritative parenting, and social supports at school and in the community are related to resilience in the face of stress. Resilience is not a preexisting attribute but, rather, a capacity that develops through childhood experiences.

Important Terms and Concepts

attribution retraining (p. 488)
 attributions (p. 486)
 blended, or reconstituted, family (p. 513)
 controversial children (p. 500)
 coregulation (p. 506)
 distributive justice (p. 492)
 divorce mediation (p. 512)
 emotion-centered coping (p. 490)
 industry versus inferiority (p. 482)

joint custody (p. 512)
 learned helplessness (p. 487)
 mastery-oriented attributions (p. 486)
 neglected children (p. 500)
 peer acceptance (p. 500)
 peer groups (p. 498)
 peer victimization (p. 502)
 perspective taking (p. 491)
 phobia (p. 517)

popular children (p. 500)
 popular-antisocial children (p. 500)
 popular-prosocial children (p. 500)
 problem-centered coping (p. 490)
 rejected children (p. 500)
 rejected-aggressive children (p. 501)
 rejected-withdrawn children (p. 501)
 self-care children (p. 515)
 social comparisons (p. 483)

facility. Regardless of where treatment takes place, the most effective approaches are lengthy and intensive, encompassing parent training, social understanding, and instruction in cognitive and social skills needed to overcome peer and school difficulties (Heilbrun, Lee, & Cottle, 2005).

In a program called EQUIP, *positive peer culture*—an adult-guided but adolescent-conducted small-group approach aimed at creating a climate in which prosocial acts replace antisocial behavior—served as the basis for treatment. By themselves, peer-culture groups do not reduce antisocial behavior—in fact, they sometimes increase it by perpetuating deviant peer influences (Dodge, Dishion, & Lansford, 2006). But in EQUIP, the approach is supplemented with training in social skills, anger management, correction of cognitive distortions (such as misperceiving others' intentions as hostile or blaming victims), and moral reasoning (Gibbs, 2004; DiBiase, Gibbs, & Potter, 2005). Delinquents who participated in EQUIP displayed improved social skills and conduct during the following year compared with controls receiving no intervention. Also, the more advanced moral reasoning that emerged during group meetings seemed to have a long-term impact on antisocial youths' ability to inhibit lawbreaking behavior (Leeman, Gibbs, & Fuller, 1993).

Yet even multidimensional treatments can fall short if adolescents remain embedded in hostile home lives, poor-quality schools, antisocial peer groups, and violent neighborhoods. In another program, called multisystemic therapy, therapists trained parents in communication, monitoring, and discipline skills; integrated violent youths into positive school, work, and leisure activities; and disengaged them from deviant peers. Compared with conventional services or individual therapy, the intervention led to improved parent-child relations, a dramatic drop in number of arrests over a four-year period, and—when participants did commit crimes—a reduction in their severity (Huey & Henggeler, 2001). Efforts to create nonaggressive environments—at the family, community, and cultural levels—are needed to help delinquent youths and to foster healthy development of all young people.

Ask Yourself

Review

Why are adolescent girls at greater risk for depression and adolescent boys at greater risk for suicide?

Review

Explain how biology and environment jointly contribute to the development of violent delinquency.

Apply

Zeke had been well-behaved in elementary school, but around age 13 he started spending

time with the "wrong crowd." At age 16, he was arrested for property damage. Is Zeke likely to become a long-term offender? Why or why not?

Connect

Reread the sections on adolescent pregnancy and substance abuse in Chapter 14. What factors do these problems have in common with suicide and chronic delinquency?

At the Threshold

The complex and rapid changes of development that occur during adolescence make teenagers vulnerable to certain problems. Most teenagers, however, do not show serious depression, suicidal tendencies, or persistent antisocial behavior. As we look back on the demands, expectations, dangers, and temptations of the adolescent period, the strength and vitality of young people are all the more remarkable. On a daily basis, adolescents must decide how vigorously to apply themselves in school, what kinds of friends to make, and whether to adopt risky behaviors, such as experimentation with sex and drugs. These short-term choices can profoundly affect the long-term paths they pursue.

Societies have good reason to treasure their youths as a rich national resource. Adolescents' ability to think seriously and deeply about possibilities, to commit themselves to idealistic causes, to be loyal to one another, and to experiment and take risks, while sometimes hazardous to themselves, energizes progress. But to realize their potential, teenagers must have family, school, and community environments that nurture personal strengths while limiting exposure to adversity. To factors that foster resilience considered in earlier chapters (see Chapter 13, page 521) we can now add the following resources, which are particularly beneficial in adolescence:

- A balance between family connection and separation
- Effective family problem solving that models and encourages rational decision making
- Parental monitoring and school involvement
- Close, supportive friendships
- High-quality vocational education
- A culturally sensitive school and community that foster a secure ethnic or bicultural identity
- Affiliation with a religious organization
- Opportunities to participate in extracurricular activities, youth organizations, and community service

As we turn now to the conclusion of our developmental journey, we will see that many young people in industrialized nations face more complex choices today than even several decades ago. Consequently, researchers have begun to investigate a new period that stands between adolescence and young adulthood. The support provided during the first 18 years is crucial for preparing young people to embrace the challenges of this transition. At no other time of life will the scope of possibilities and the freedom to experiment and make independent decisions be greater.

Summary

Erikson's Theory: Identity versus Role Confusion

According to Erikson, what is the major personality achievement of adolescence?

- Erikson's theory emphasizes **identity** as the major personality achievement of adolescence. Young people who successfully resolve the psychological conflict of **identity versus role confusion** construct a solid self-definition consisting of self-chosen values and goals.

Self-Understanding

Describe changes in self-concept and self-esteem during adolescence.

- The cognitive changes of adolescence enable teenagers to describe themselves in more organized and consistent ways. They place more emphasis on social virtues, and personal and moral standards gradually appear as key themes. Self-esteem continues to differentiate, and young people add new dimensions reflecting important concerns of the teenage years: close friendship, romantic appeal, and job competence.
- For most adolescents, self-esteem rises. At the same time, individual differences in self-esteem become more stable. Self-esteem factors strongly related to adjustment include parental relationships, academic competence, and peer relationships. The

ingredients of authoritative parenting—warmth, approval, appropriate expectations for maturity, and positive problem solving—support self-esteem. Schools and neighborhoods where the young person's SES or ethnic group is well represented also have a positive impact.

Describe the four identity statuses, along with factors that promote identity development.

- In complex societies, a period of exploration followed by commitment is necessary to form a personally meaningful identity. **Identity achievement** (exploration followed by commitment) and **identity moratorium** (exploration without having reached commitment) are psychologically healthy identity statuses. Long-term **identity foreclosure** (commitment without exploration) and **identity diffusion** (lack of both exploration and commitment) are related to adjustment difficulties.
- Adolescents who use a flexible, open-minded approach to grappling with competing beliefs and values and who feel attached to parents but free to voice their own opinions are likely to be advanced in identity development. Close friends support young people in exploring options.
- Schools and communities that provide young people of all backgrounds with rich and varied opportunities for exploration also foster identity achievement. Ethnic minority youths may

experience **acculturative stress** resulting from conflict between their family's culture and that of the larger society. But those who construct a strong, secure **ethnic identity** or a **bicultural identity** are advantaged in many aspects of emotional and social development.

Moral Development

Describe Kohlberg's theory of moral development, and evaluate its accuracy.

- By examining how responses to moral dilemmas change with growing maturity, Kohlberg concluded that moral reasoning advances through three levels, each containing two stages: (1) the **preconventional level**, in which morality is viewed as controlled by rewards, punishments, and the power of authority figures; (2) the **conventional level**, in which conformity to laws and rules is regarded as necessary to preserve positive interpersonal relationships and maintain societal order; and (3) the **postconventional level**, in which individuals define morality in terms of abstract, universal principles of justice.



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- Development of moral reasoning is slow and gradual, extending into adulthood. A reexamination of Kohlberg's stages suggests that moral maturity can be found at Stages 3 and 4. Because it focuses on hypothetical moral dilemmas, Kohlberg's theory emphasizes rational weighing of alternatives, while overlooking other strategies that affect moral judgment in everyday life. The influence of situational factors on moral reasoning suggests that Kohlberg's moral stages are best viewed as a loosely organized sequence.

Evaluate claims that Kohlberg's theory does not adequately represent the morality of females.

- Contrary to Gilligan's claim, Kohlberg's theory does not underestimate the moral maturity of females. Both justice and caring moralities coexist but vary in emphasis between males and females, across cultures, and with degree of familiarity with the people involved.
- Compared with children, teenagers display more subtle reasoning about conflicts between personal choice and community obligations. They are also increasingly mindful of the moral implications of following social conventions.

Describe influences on moral reasoning and the relationship of moral reasoning to behavior.

- A flexible, open-minded approach to new information and experiences is linked to gains in moral reasoning. Warm, rational parenting, years of schooling, and peer discussion of moral issues also contribute. Young people in industrialized nations advance to higher levels of moral understanding than young people in village societies. Responses to moral dilemmas in collectivist cultures are often more other-directed.
- Maturity of moral reasoning is modestly related to positive social behaviors. Other factors that affect moral action include the emotions of empathy and guilt, the individual's history of morally

relevant experiences, and **moral self-relevance**—the extent to which morality is central to self-concept.

- Although formal religious involvement declines during adolescence, young people who remain part of a religious community are advantaged in moral values and behavior. Religious affiliation is linked to community service, responsible behavior, and avoidance of misconduct.

Gender Typing

Why is early adolescence a period of gender intensification?

- Biological, social, and cognitive factors contribute to the **gender intensification** of early adolescence. Physical changes, gender-typed pressures from parents and peers, and increased concern with what others think prompt teenagers to view themselves in gender-linked ways. Young people who eventually build an androgynous gender identity tend to be psychologically healthier.

The Family

Discuss changes in parent-child relationships during adolescence.

- Adapting family interaction to meet adolescents' need for **autonomy** is especially challenging. As teenagers deidealize their parents, they often question parental authority. And because both adolescents and parents are undergoing major life transitions, they approach situations from different perspectives. Effective parenting requires an authoritative style that strikes a balance between connection and separation. Consistent parental monitoring, through a cooperative relationship, predicts favorable adjustment.
- Parents who are financially secure, not overloaded with job pressures, and content with their marriages usually find it easier to grant teenagers appropriate autonomy. When parents and adolescents have seriously troubled relationships, the difficulties usually began in childhood.

How do sibling relationships change during adolescence?

- Sibling relationships become less intense as adolescents separate from the family and turn toward peers, but for most young people, attachment to siblings remains strong. Teenagers whose parents are warm and supportive have more positive sibling ties. Warm sibling relationships, in turn, contribute to more gratifying friendships.

Peer Relations

Describe adolescent friendships and their consequences for development.

- During adolescence, friendship changes, moving toward greater intimacy and loyalty. Adolescent friends generally resemble one another in many ways. Although early adolescence is a period of change in friendships, teenagers' friendships are fairly stable and become more so with age.



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- Girls' friendships place greater emphasis on emotional closeness, boys' on joint activities, mastery issues, and competition. Among boys without same-sex friends, other-sex friendships are linked to feelings of competence. But among girls who lack same-sex friends, other-sex friendships are associated with less positive well-being.
- Adolescents use the Internet to communicate with friends and to meet new people. Instant messaging is especially common and seems to support friendship closeness. But for some young people, online relationships pose risks of harmful social experiences, including harassment and exploitation.
- As long as they are not characterized by jealousy or aggression, adolescent friendships promote self-concept, identity, perspective taking, and the capacity for intimate relationships. They also help young people deal with stress and can foster improved attitudes toward and involvement in school.

Describe peer groups and dating relationships in adolescence.

- Adolescent peer groups are organized into **cliques**, small groups of friends with common interests, attitudes, and values. Often several cliques form a larger, more loosely organized group called a **crowd**, which grants the adolescent an identity within the larger social structure of the school.
- Although teenagers' interests and abilities affect group membership, parenting practices are also influential. Many peer-group values are extensions of values taught at home.
- Mixed-sex cliques provide a supportive context for boys and girls to get to know one another. Intimacy in dating relationships lags behind that in friendships, and early, frequent dating is linked to adjustment problems. Positive relationships with parents and friends contribute to the development of warm romantic ties, which enhance emotional and social development in older teenagers. Because of intense prejudice, initiating and maintaining visible romances is especially challenging for homosexual youths. First romances generally dissolve or become less satisfying after graduation from high school.



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Discuss conformity to peer pressure in adolescence.

- Peer conformity is greater during adolescence than in either childhood or early adulthood. Young teenagers are more likely than older teenagers to give in to peer pressure for antisocial behavior. However, most peer pressure is consistent with adult values. Authoritative parenting is related to resistance to unfavorable peer pressure.

Important Terms and Concepts

acculturative stress (p. 605)
autonomy (p. 616)
bicultural identity (p. 605)
clique (p. 623)
conventional level (p. 608)
crowd (p. 623)

ethnic identity (p. 605)
gender intensification (p. 615)
identity (p. 598)
identity achievement (p. 601)
identity diffusion (p. 601)
identity foreclosure (p. 601)

identity moratorium (p. 601)
identity versus role confusion (p. 598)
moral self-relevance (p. 613)
postconventional level (p. 608)
preconventional level (p. 607)

Problems of Development

Describe factors related to adolescent depression and suicide.

- Depression is the most common psychological problem of the teenage years. Various combinations of biological and environmental factors can lead to depression. Although heredity is involved, maladaptive parenting and stressful life events may trigger it. Depression is more common in girls than boys—a difference believed to be due to stressful life events and gender-typed coping styles.
- Profound depression in adolescence predicts depression in adulthood and often leads to suicidal thoughts. The suicide rate increases sharply at adolescence. Boys account for most teenage deaths by suicide, while girls make more unsuccessful suicide attempts. Teenagers at risk for suicide may be solitary and withdrawn but more often are antisocial. Again, biology and environment jointly contribute; risk factors include a highly introverted or impulsive personality, economic disadvantage, family conflict, and abuse and neglect.

Discuss factors related to delinquency.

- Delinquency rises over adolescence and then declines. Only a few teenagers are serious repeat offenders, most often boys with a childhood history of conduct problems.
- Childhood-onset antisocial behavior is linked to difficult temperament, cognitive deficits, and inept parenting—a pattern likely to result in persistent aggression, peer rejection, academic failure, association with antisocial peers, and chronic, violent delinquency. Adolescent-onset antisocial behavior typically arises from peer pressures of the teenage years. It usually subsides by young adulthood.
- Factors beyond the family and peer group contribute to delinquency. Schools that fail to meet adolescents' developmental needs and poverty-stricken neighborhoods with high crime rates and few constructive alternatives to antisocial activity promote adolescent lawbreaking. Zero-tolerance policies for misbehavior, which have become increasingly common in North American schools, do not reduce and may even heighten delinquency.

At the Threshold

Review factors that foster resilience in adolescence.

- To develop optimally, adolescents require family, school, and community contexts that foster personal strengths while reducing adversity. In addition to factors mentioned in earlier chapters, the following resources foster resilience in adolescence: a balance between family connection and separation, effective family problem solving, parental monitoring and school involvement, close friendships, high-quality vocational education, culturally sensitive schools and communities, religious affiliation, and opportunities to participate in extracurricular activities and community service.